ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. NO. 9.

INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY UPON THE WHITE POPULATION.

By a Former Resident of Slave States.

Much has been said and written about the "victims of oppression;" and wherever the term is used in connection with American institutions, our thoughts at once turn to the millions of our colored brethren in bondage.

A true understanding of the nature and influences of American slavery forces the conviction that this system renders the master no less a "victim" than the slave. The attractive elegances of social life may deceive the superficial observer; but a deeper insight will discover, under this light drapery, not only a world of secret misery, but of hideous corruption.

Nothing can convey a true idea of the influence of slavery upon the white population but an intimate acquaintance with southern society - not as a guest, to be entertained and flattered, but as a resident year by year, when all reserve is laid aside in the free and

natural relations of social and domestic life.

In order to understand the immense power of slavery to shape the character and destiny of the master, we must remember that it has the sole training of his early youth. The men and women of the south are what the slaves have made them. With a knowledge of the influences exerted upon the first eighteen or twenty years of life, almost any biography may be predicted. This is peculiarly true of the characters formed by slavery. In the pulpit, on the plantation, in Congress, we find the promise of the child fulfilled in manhood.

The conscience which is never awakened to the force of the command, to "do unto others as ye would that they should do unto

you," will not in after life be vigilant in self-government.

The heart that has never been made to realize that all created beings are the children of one Father, and equally dear to him, cannot acknowledge the obligations resting on that fact, especially when they conflict with the whole social and civil arrangements

The first aspect in which slavery presents itself to a northerner is in the relations of the household. This is the first and the best; and if objections to slavery are based upon stories of personal abuse and suffering, and no pains are taken to look beneath the fair exte-

rior, such objections will speedily give place to a less hostile

feeling.

The white child at the south is born into a strange and unnatural combination of influences. Consigned at once to the care of his colored nurse, often dependent on her for food as well as every other service which belongs to the office of maternity, he is attached to her by the first instincts of his nature. It is a common thing for the colored mother to nurse her own and her mistress's child through the whole period of lactation; and thus between these little ones a bond of affection is formed, which, if left to its natural development, would consecrate these relations for life.

The office of the nurse is to keep the child from physical injury. He must be carefully protected from extremes of heat, cold, fatigue, and hunger. He must not be thwarted or fretted, for that would "spoil his disposition." The nurse carries him about from morning to night, to the kitchen, the stable, the garden, or the fields, wherever her roving disposition may dictate; and if he is brought back at the appointed time in good condition, the nurse is considered

unexceptionable.

Yet, all this while, bad temper and the waywardness of child-hood are developing, without restraint or correction. The life of mental and physical inactivity that southern women lead renders them incapable of a judicious training of their children, and, in general, they seem entirely ignorant of the responsibilities involved in the relation of a mother. They are too essentially indolent to undertake the arduous duty of "managing" any thing or any body; and thus the precious years of infancy are committed to the most ignorant or malicious hands.

As soon as the little one is old enough to seek playmates, his foster brother and the little negroes near his age are his constant companions. They become the next instructors of his youth, and their language, habits, and manners form the strongest associations of his childhood—associations so strong that there is hardly a southern man or woman who, under extensive culture and intercourse with the best society in after life, does not occasionally, by language and pronunciation, betray their early intimacy with the southern negro, whose peculiarities, when once heard, can always be recognized.

Meanwhile "human nature" begins to show itself with considerable vigor. The little master gets angry with his playmates; he fights and beats them, while they are never to strike back. His little foster brother, whe is generally presented to him for a body servant, becomes his favored victim. He beats him the most because he is his most constant companion, and oftenest offends him; and the enslaved brother is taught that he must bear more because he especially belongs to his young master.

Occasionally a mother corrects her son, and begs him not to strike, because it is not "pretty." But, as a general rule, as soon as the child learns the use of his little fist, he finds it most effectual for his purposes, and in the exercise of ungoverned passion and im-

perious self-will, the years of childhood prepare the way for the deeper sins of manhood. But long before he reaches that period he is drilled in the catechism whose first question is, "What is the chief end of the white man?" Ans. "To rule." "What is the chief end of the slave?" Ans. "To obey." And by a logical inference from the right of property in man, he argues that a master has a right to do what he will with his own, and even if he choose to torment his slave, he is accountable to no one therefor.

Neither Eva nor Topsy are exaggerations, for I have known the counterpart of each. But I have seen a specimen of haughty rebellion against reasonable requirements, of insensibility to the sufferings of others, in the daughter of a southern merchant, which has

never yet been paralleled in fiction.

Imagine a young negro girl, with her hair blazing round her head, lighted "for fun" by her young "missis." I thought it had caught by accident and extinguished it; but she told me it had been often done before. I asked her why she allowed it, and she proudly answered, "I would not put it out if it burned off my ears."

Nature produces the same diversities of temper at the south as at the north. But wherever the elements are bad, slavery fosters them into full and hateful proportions. It has no gentle teachings of self-control and self-sacrifice for the happiness of others; it forms no habits of industry and self-reliance; it cultivates no sense of justice. On the other hand, it exalts self into hateful supremacy over every other consideration. Indolence and imbecility are its inevitable results, and this very idleness and mental vacuity encourage artificial wants, which make extra demands upon the compulsory labor of the slave.

The time soon comes to "educate" the youth; but the only opportunities for education which deserve the name must be sought beyond the reach of slavery. In a speech before the House of Representatives, in Congress, in 1848, the Hon. Horace Mann says, upon this subject, "Slavery makes the general education of the whites impossible. You cannot have general education without common schools. Common schools cannot exist where the population is sparse. Where slaves till the soil, or do the principal part of whatever work is done, the free population must be sparse. Slavery, then, by an inexorable law, denies general education to the whites." * * *

"Sir, during the last ten years I have had a most extensive correspondence with the intelligent friends of education in the south. They yearn for progress, but they cannot obtain it. They procure laws to be passed, but they speak in a vacuum, and no one hears the appeal. If a parent wishes to educate his children, he must send them from home, and thus suffer a sort of bereavement while they live, or he must employ a tutor or governess, which few are able to do. The rich may do it; but what becomes of the poor? In cities the obstacles are less, but the number of persons resident in cities is comparatively small. All this is the inevitable result of

slavery; and it is as impossible for free, thorough, universal education to coexist with slavery as for two bodies to occupy the same space at the same time. Slavery would abolish education if it should invade a free state; education would abolish slavery if it could invade a slave State."

But slavery not only precludes education by its very nature — it enacts laws to secure ignorance among the free citizens of the slave By the laws of Virginia, Mrs. Douglass, of Norfolk, was pronounced guilty of a "crime" for teaching free colored children to read. She suffered thirty days' imprisonment in the city fail, not because it is actually a crime to teach a free colored child to read, but because intelligence is dangerous to slavery. It was necessary to make an example of her to deter all future offenders. Judge Baker has won an unenviable notoriety in his delivery of her sentence. He says that the idea that universal culture is necessary to religious instruction and education is "mischievous"—a wellchosen term. He says that of all the negroes in the world, none are so intelligent, so inclined to the gospel, and so blessed by the elevating influences of the gospel, as the slaves of the United States, and that if any one would have their interests more carefully regarded than they are by the laws of Virginia, it must be from a sickly sensibility towards them. Then he proceeds to vindicate the justice of the sentence by the fact that, "in good sense and sound morality, his discretionary power to imprison for six months or less does not authorize a mere minimum punishment," since the question of "guilt" is beyond a doubt, and there are many "aggravating circumstances." "Therefore, as a terror to those who acknowledge no rule of action but their own evil will and pleasure, and in vindication of the justness of our laws, the judgment of the court is, that you be imprisoned for the period of one month in the jail of this city."

Because Mrs. Douglass chose to remain and suffer the full penalty of the law, though all the citizens hoped she would leave the city, the Norfolk Argus of February 9, 1854, says, "Then sympathy departed, and in the breast of every one rose a rightcous indignation towards a person who would throw contempt in the face of the laws, and brave the imprisonment for 'the cause of humanity.'"

Such a burlesque of all that is truly enlightened and just cannot be improved by any comment. It is an admirable illustration of the significance attached to that clause in the Declaration of Independence which guaranties "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to every American citizen, whether applied to Mrs. Douglass or the free colored children. It explains the fact that of nine hundred thousand there are eighty thousand whites in Virginia who can neither read nor write.

This is the sort of justice that rendered the Hon. Samuel Hoar a "fugitive from slavery." One of the governor's aids, now a member of Congress from South Carolina, told me that his orders from the governor to the mayor of Charleston were to treat Mr. Hoar with the utmost courtesy, but that he must leave the city—peaceably if he would—by violence if necessary. He granted that

Massachusetts had the *right* to test the constitutionality of a law affecting her own citizens, but that the discussion of that question was fraught with such dangers to the life and safety of the masters, that it was a matter of life or death to them, and "they were re-

solved to suppress it, right or no right."

But suppose the most favorable opportunities afforded by wealth for education; what future worthy of true manhood offers itself under the institution of slavery? Its first, greatest, all-absorbing That is absolutely indispensable. ambition is for wealth. that wealth which is the honorable reward of industry; on the other hand, it is the inherited proceeds of unrequited toil which give the highest social position. If a man has never soiled his hands by useful labor, and is secure from the possibility of ever applying them to the purposes for which they were created, - if by inheritance or marriage he can command a fortune, - the ends of his ambition are attained - an ambition more universal and unscrupulous in the means adopted to obtain it than any or all others "A poor white man" is a byword and a reproach. For him there is no future. By degrading the dignity of manual labor, slavery crushes those who are neither slaveholders nor slaves. The poor white man is too proud to associate with negroes, his superiors too proud to associate with him; denied the benefits of education, with a hopeless prospect for himself and children, there is absolutely no sphere for him but to labor for the supply of his animal wants, despised and rejected.

It is from this rank and condition in life that the material is chosen to fill the place of slave driver—a fit school for such an office, where he must crush out of his soul the last vestige of self-respect; he must crucify his true manhood, its very life blood must be drained, in order to prepare the soulless automaton to do his work acceptably. When that is accomplished, he may hope for promotion to the more lucrative and conspicuous offices of kidnap-

per and slave hunter.

But if he cannot "conquer his prejudices," if there is a tender place in his heart that quivers at the sound of mourning, and if he proudly prefers the scanty fruits of his own earning to the wealth of unrequited toil, then his fate is fixed, and in hopeless ignorance and poverty he and his children will live and die to no other purpose than to swell the list of those who shall one day rise up in

judgment against slavery.

If the "poor white man" numbers daughters among his progeny, their condition is equally deplorable, especially if their home happens to be remote from towns. They are then too far removed from the means of acquiring the useful trades which afford a respectable livelihood to find advancement in that direction, and the best thing offered them is the position of housekeeper in a wealthy family. The white girl, by virtue of her color, is ranked one degree above the slaves, though the advantages of the house servants for cultivation in the refinements of domestic life are often superior to those afforded by her own home. She holds an intermediate posi-

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tion between the mistress and slave, always subject to the countermanding orders of her superior, and therefore not recognized as authority by the slaves, treated by them with contempt, answered with impertinence, annoyed by disobedience, and insulted with her poverty; yet she finds no companionship in the family which she serves. Guests may come and go, and gayety resound throughout the borders, but she has no part or lot therein, and is virtually

ranked among the slaves.

One of these unfortunate women told me that she had been compelled to bear treatment from a former mistress to which few house servants are ever subjected. She was required to rise at three o'clock in the morning, after working till ten or eleven at night; and sometimes she was so overpowered by fatigue, that, after she went out doors in the morning, she sat down under the trees and fell asleep again. She had the whole oversight of house and kitchen, carrying the basket of keys to every locked drawer and closet about the house, and the various storerooms arranged about the yard; she must answer every call from every quarter; she employed all her leisure time in weaving negro cloth; she was stinted in her food, and provided with a bed that would disgrace a convict's cell; and for this labor and this usage she received ninety-six cents a week.

And now I approach a part of my subject from which I would gladly draw back, were I not riveted to the point by my desire to be faithful to my purpose of setting forth the effects of slavery upon the master. It is a painful and delicate office to do justice to this matter; but I speak to the pure in heart, who seek to know and defend eternal truths.

By a strange misnomer, slavery has been called a "domestic" institution: but before its presence all that is properly implied in that word domestic vanishes like an exorcised spirit. The desolation wrought among the colored victims of slavery is terrible, and mighty indeed is their demand for redress; but they have their revenge in the wreck of the domestic happiness of their op-

I have said that the white child is committed entirely to the care of the colored nurse, and thus the process of contamination begins in infancy. Young children are familiarized to sights and associations which destroy the instinctive modesty of youth. They are also placed in such relations to the colored children, through the ignorance or malice of the nurse, as to stimulate the passions into premature activity. Some nurses believe that personal intimacies between the young master and his young female companions cultivate a closer affection, and insure the latter from the chances of being sold. Others, of a fiercer temper, seek their revenge for outrages committed on themselves in order to exult over the wreck of early manhood always resulting from self-indulgence. By whichever process the result is attained, it is a well-known fact that purity among southern men is almost an unknown virtue.

There are thousands of proofs of this in the prevalence of the

fair skin, smooth and glossy hair, blue eyes, straight nose, delicate foot, and arched instep, which are every where to be met among the slaves. But why should we expect purity when every restraint is removed which helps to subdue the clamors of the animal nature, while every possible opportunity is offered for its indulgence?

There is no fear of public opinion, for there is no danger of de-

tection, since the slave is bound to submit in silence.

There is no loss of social position consequent upon the grossest licentiousness.

The most honorable social and political distinctions are awarded

without reference to the private character of the individual.

The libertine maintains a high and honored standing in the church.

The law decrees that every child born of a slave shall follow the condition of its mother, and thus not only extends no protection to virtue, but offers a premium to vice.

Nor is one class of society more base than another in this respect. The highest social life is often the most vile in its secret history. A young man at the age of twenty-one takes possession of his portion of the paternal estate, erects a house upon it, where he retires and establishes a household for himself. He secures what means of gratification his taste can select, and thus lives, sometimes ten or fifteen years, if no heiress or beauty cross his path of sufficient attractions to induce him to add her as an ornamental appendage to his establishment. Meanwhile his human "property" steadily increases, both in numbers and value; for the lighter the mulatto the more desirable among the fastidious; and rare beauty is often the result of a second intermingling of the same aristocratic blood with the offspring of a former passion. From time to time, friends come to visit this bachelor hall, and in due season the master is repaid for his hospitality to them by a valuable addition to his stock of human chattels.

If in due time a wife be wood and won, what is she? Nothing but "the fairest among his concubines." She is not his wife; and if she deserve the name of woman, her fate is a living death. If by a false education her feminine nature has formed no pure ideal, and she neither expects nor demands true manhood, then also has slavery wrought its perfect work in her. There are few women who can endure the proofs of their husband's infidelity. There is an instinct in the female heart about this matter too deep and thoroughly inwrought in her organization to be reasoned away or crushed out. Her suffering will show itself, either in the premature decay which tells the story of a broken heart, or her heart will turn to stone, and a haughty pride will endeavor to conceal the wreck of love. will write the record of her outraged nature in the frenzy with which she persecutes her favored rivals. She is the first to propose, the most relentless to insist on, the sale of the unfortunate victims in whose agonies she tries to find satisfaction for her own wrongs.

Mrs. Douglass, to whom I have before referred, adds a powerful

testimony on this point. She is a South Carolinian by birth, and lately a resident of Virginia, and testifies to what she knows.

Speaking of licentiousness, she says, "It is impossible to deny that this unnatural custom prevails to a fearful extent throughout the south. The testimony is of too positive and personal a character to be overcome. * * * Its followers are to be found in all ranks, occupations, and professions. The white mothers and daughters of the south have suffered under it for years, have seen their dearest affections trampled upon, their hopes of domestic happiness destroyed, and their future lives imbittered, even to agony, by those who should be all in all to them as husbands, sons, and brothers. I cannot use too strong language in reference to this subject, for I know that it will meet a heartfelt response from every southern woman. I would deal delicately with them if I could; but they know the fact, and their hearts bleed under the knowledge. however they may attempt to conceal their discoveries. Southern wives know that their husbands come to them, * * * the arms of their tawny mistresses. Father and son seek the same sources of excitement, * * * scarcely blushing when detected, and recklessly defying every command of God and every tie of morality and human affection."

Peace, and happiness, and the faith which is as immovable as the everlasting hills in the heart of pure and constant love, those essential elements of the true home, are nowhere to be found in

slavery.

The wife constantly sees the likeness of her husband in children that are not hers; the husband welcomes every new comer among them as so many hundreds of prospective gain, and devotes himself to their increase, while his legal children are born with feeble minds and bodies, with just force enough to transmit the family name, and produce in feebler characters a second edition of the father's life.

The plantation in Virginia is "stocked" with negroes that are bought with sole reference to their capacities for reproduction, and master and slave unite, the former consciously, the latter unconsciously, in the same odious enterprise of raising victims for the

southern market.

Mr. Gholson, of Virginia, in his speech in the legislature of that State, January 18, 1832, (see Richmond Whig) says, "It has always (perhaps erroneously) been considered by steady and old-fashioned people, that the owner of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits, the owner of orchards to their annual fruits, * * * and the owner of female slaves to their increase. * * It is on the justice and inviolability of this maxim that the master foregoes the service of the female slave, has her nursed and attended during the period of gestation, and raises the helpless infant offspring. The value of the property justifies the expense; and I do not hesitate to say, that in its increase consists much of our wealth."

R. S. Finley, Esq., late general agent of the American Coloniza-

tion Society, at a meeting in New York, 27th February, 1833, said, "In Virginia and other grain growing States, the blacks do not support themselves, and the only profit their masters derive from them is, repulsive as the idea may justly seem, in breeding them, like

other live stock, for the more southern States."

Professor Dew, president of the University of William and Mary, Virginia, in his review of the debate in the Virginia legislature, 1831-2, says, p. 49, "From all the information we can obtain, we have no hesitation in saying that upwards of six thousand [slaves] are yearly exported [from Virginia] to other States." Again, p. 61, "The six thousand slaves which Virginia annually sends off to the south are a source of wealth to Virginia." Again, p. 120, "A full equivalent being thus left in the place of the slave, this emigration becomes an advantage to the State, and does not check the black population as much as, at first view, we might imagine — because it furnishes every inducement to the master to attend to the negroes, to encourage breeding, and to cause the greatest possible number to be raised."

I might add a hundred testimonials to these facts; but I forbear. Volumes could not record the length and breadth, the height and

depth, of the pollutions of slavery.

The possession of absolute, irresponsible power, guarantied by law to the American slaveholder, inevitably cultivates sel shness, cruelty, and insensibility towards the slave, especially since that law affords no redress to the injured party.

The master's ungoverned temper vents itself in blows, and this exasperates the slave. He retaliates by theft, eye service, and disobedience; the master storms, and the slave persists in sullen defiance, till at last seiling becomes too lenient a punishment, and the victim is delivered over to the stocks, whip, thumbscrews, &c.

W. C. Gildersleeve, of Georgia, in 1839 an elder of the Presbyterian church, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, after describing the flogging of a slave, in which his hands were tied together, and the slave was hoisted by a rope, in which condition one hundred lashes were inflicted, says, "I stood by and witnessed the whole without feeling the least compassion; so hardening is the influence of slavery, that it very much destroys the feeling for the slave."

With this indifference to physical suffering, it would be what Judge Baker terms "sickly sensibility," to expect any tenderness towards the natural affections which bind the slaves to each other. Hence the inhuman hardness of heart which separates man and wife, (though not recognized as such by slave law,) mother and child, brother and sister, like cattle, to be sold, "singly or in lots, to

suit purchasers."

A resident in a southern family relates that the lady of the house, wishing to buy a shawl, and having no ready money, took with her to the store a fine mulatto girl, who had been brought up in the house, and whose mother and grandmother still served in the family. The girl waited outside the store till the mistress called her in,

and to her horror, she was informed that she was sold to the merchant. Her cries and lamentations were in vain; the mistress left her; she was immediately taken to the auction block, and in twenty-four hours was on her way to New Orleans. When the child's mother and grandmother heard the news, they gave vent to the most piercing cries and groans, and the mistress, after repeatedly ordering silence without effect, at last sent them to be whipped for disobedience.

Yet with all this domestic cruelty and callousness of heart, the south is proverbial for its hospitality, kindness, and generosity. Many believe it impossible that such opposite qualities can be found in the same individual, and hence disbelieve the reported cruelties inflicted on the slave. But it must be remembered that hospitality costs nothing. Guests are a merciful relief from the tedium of daily life. They are feasted on the proceeds of the labor of the slave, they are served by an attendance which in no wise interferes with the time or interrupts the occupations of the white household; and why should not stolen wealth be lavishly bestowed? But one cannot infer, from the master's generosity towards the guest, a similar one towards the slave. It were as wise to infer that the highway robber would show the same "honor" towards the traveller who chanced to fall in his power, as to his companions in crime, with whom he shares the spoils. I have attended a Christmas party where the table grouned under the weight of luxuries, and piles of wood blazed high on the hearth, (for the day was bitter cold,) and the little boy who opened the gate to admit our carriage was bareheaded, barefooted, and had nothing but the remains of a cotton shirt to cover him. This was on the estate of one of the wealthiest men in South Carolina.

With such influences from youth to manhood, what right have we to hope for a higher standard of manners or morality than are presented in our halls of Congress? If we look to the pulpit of the south, what do we find? The pulpit! What memories rise up as I write the word! Sunday after Sunday I have seen the pious church members meet to listen to the garbled presentation of God's word, members of one church, claiming one God as their Father, one Christ for their Savior, striving for the blessed promises of one heaven, to which there is but one strait and narrow way of entrance; yet here in the visible church, divided, black from white, by a wooden fence, and on sacrament days, after the white members had partaken of the bread and wine, the black members crawled through a little gate, left open only on that day, and came forward, four or five at a time, to take the bread and wine. I have heard a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Virginia read the discipline, and explain the clause forbidding to church members the traffic in slaves, by remarking that it referred to the African slave trade, but had no allusion to the exchange of slaves already in bondage, and then proceed to an harangue of an hour's length on the sin of wearing jewelry and artificial flowers.

Christianity can no more coexist with slavery than can education. The first words of the gospel of Christ, preached in their true spirit and with their proper application, would exterminate it from the There is no half way in this matter. One must face of the earth. either recognize the spurious religion which, under cover of Christ's name, kills both soul and body, and reject it with scorn and indignation, or be so stultified in moral and mental capacity as not to detect the enormous counterfeit. Slavery has wrought this last effect upon the southern mind. The abstract right has no binding The "peculiar institution" has become their God, and whatever protects it is right, whether in politics or religion. The most intelligent men of the south see through the sham, and are most indifferent to religion. They maintain the church, as a respectable institution, especially prized by the women, and valuable for the negroes. It makes them better servants, and forms an item of pecuniary value. A Methodist will bring more than a Baptist, because the latter depends upon immersion for his hopes of heaven, while the Methodist is taught that he must "work out his salvation with fear and trembling"—a precept that hardly needs to be enforced under the circumstances. The pathetic appeals to the feelings, the terrors of hell, the necessity of joining the church, &c., produce the clap-trap effects which gloss over the oratory of the southern pulpit with a mock solemnity. But every thinking person knows that these are but the mint, anise, and cumin, while the weightier matters of the law-truth, justice, and mercy-are overlooked. Here, as every where else, slavery shows its cloven foot. It blinds the reason, perverts the conscience, and in awful blasphemy plants itself upon God's word, claiming a divine origin and sanction, and in his name proceeds to outrage humanity in the person of the

If, then, the two highest sources of moral power are polluted by slavery, if home is desecrated, and religion turned into a mockery, where shall we look for the cultivation of that moral integrity which constitutes the true life of a nation, and on which its real prosperity depends?

Never did a panic of terror wring out a deeper truth than that which lately echoed from north to south - "The Union is in danger." The nation is in peril, whether whole or severed; not because a compact has been broken, not because the Constitution may be shattered, not from the possibility of a civil war, or the horrors of an insurrection, but because truth, justice, and mercy are being Upright fidelity to the truth in our halls of Congress meets cunning, trickery, and abuse; justice is answered by a bluster about "honor;" and the mention of a higher law draws down undisguised derision and contempt. The question at issue is not between north and south, but between truth and error, right and wrong, God and the devil.

Our work, then, is to beware lest by silence or apology we lend our strength to the oppressor; to guard our hearts from the insensibility to the wrongs of others, which our own secure enjoyments may induce; but most of all to keep the eye single, that we be full of light as to the enormity of our country's sin, and our own duty towards it. Then only will the battle of life be earnestly fought, and our whole work be done. Thus only can the full stature of manhood be attained.

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